

A.
379.

NATIONAL LIBRARY
CANADA
BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE

THE SCHOOLS

CALLED

Public Schools of Manitoba

ARE IN REALITY

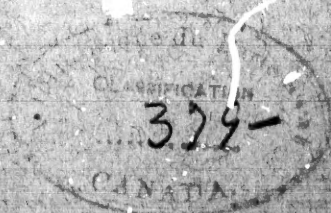
Protestant Schools.

BY

HIS GRACE A. A. TACHÉ,

Archbishop of St. Boniface.

APRIL, 1893



LA418

M3

T.3213

The School Question.

AN EXHAUSTIVE DISQUISITION ON THE SUBJECT.

Archbishop Tache Answers the Question : "Are the Public Schools of Manitoba the Continuation of the Protestant Schools of the same Province."

Having learned that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council had rendered a decision contrary to the interests of the Catholics of Manitoba on the school question, I thought it my duty to claim anew the intervention of the federal authorities, and I did so, in a petition addressed to his Excellency the Governor-General-in-Council. A paragraph of that petition has attracted especial attention, both in the Commons and in the press. Here is the paragraph :

"That two statutes, 53 Vic., chap. 37 and 38, were passed in the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, to merge the Roman Catholic schools with those of the Protestant denominations, and to require all members of the community, whether Roman Catholic or Protestant, to contribute through taxation to the support of what are therein called public schools, but which are in reality a continuation of the Protestant schools."

Certainly I should never have used that language if I had not felt convinced of its correctness; my assertions nevertheless have been denied by some and doubted by others. I owe to myself and the sacred cause I endeavor to protect to give the proofs, which have forced on my mind the conviction I have expressed. Those proofs I will adduce; especially from public documents.

Daily observation convinces me that the question of the Catholic schools of Manitoba is far from having been studied in its entire aspect, and that, not only by the adversaries of those schools, but even by some of those who desire to protect them. The subject is very dry and in no way very attractive; nevertheless, I pray those who feel some interest in the matter to examine carefully what follows, and I take the liberty to dedicate to them what I now write.

I can easily foresee that this new action on my part may provoke the repetition of the abuse which has been lavished on me

in some newspapers. I may assure those so disposed that I will not answer them. I shall leave them in the enjoyment of such pastime, coupled with the trouble of finding out why I keep silent under such attacks.

To secure an easier understanding of what I am going to say, I will first give the meaning to be attached to some of my expressions. I will call "Old Regime" the laws of education passed by the Legislature of Manitoba, and in force in the province until the 1st May, 1890. I will call "New Regime" the laws of education in force since that date.

"Public Protestant Schools" meant, under the old regime, schools established, controlled and supported by Protestants for the use of Protestant children; on the other hand,

PUBLIC CATHOLIC SCHOOLS

meant schools established, controlled and supported by Catholics, for the use of Catholic children, and were recognized by the law; the public schools of to-day are those established by the new regime.

What I undertake to prove is this: The actual public schools of Manitoba are the continuation of the former Protestant public schools of the province, and to make my undertaking good, I must first show the condition of public schools, Protestant and Catholic, under the old regime and demonstrate afterwards that the new regime, while destroying the public Catholic schools, maintains the public Protestant schools, of which they are in reality but the continuation.

I. OLD REGIME.

The Province of Manitoba was admitted into Canadian confederation on the 15th July, 1870. It began to organize in September. Its first parliament was summoned for and opened the 15th day of March, 1871. One of the first tasks of the new legislature was the question of public instruction and on the 3rd May, the Lieutenant-Governor assented to a law, passed under the title "An Act to establish a System of Education in the Province."

While entering in such a grave question, the government, the legislative council and the legislative assembly

of the new province had to look, and in fact did look, into the constitution of Canada, British North America Act, 1867, clause 93, and into the constitution of the Province of Manitoba, "Manitoba Act, 1870," clause 22, for guidance in their task. They easily found there two things. 1st. That the provincial authorities are not absolute in matters of education. 2nd. That, regarding the same matter, the constitution of the whole Dominion, and the constitution of Manitoba both recognized that the "Subjects of the Queen," formed two different sections, named respectively "Protestant" and "Roman Catholic," and that, even if one of the sections was in a minority in any province.

* The two mentioned sections existed in the Province of Manitoba, as census taken by the government towards the end of 1870, had just ascertained the numerical relation between the two groups, as well as that of the whole population. 12,228 was the total population. The Catholics had registered more than all the others taken together; they were then the majority of the Queen's subjects, while the Protestants were the minority. It was decided, nevertheless, that no attention should be paid to that difference and that the two sections should be considered as equal in number. The equality of numbers, supported by equality of rights, dictated naturally the equality of privileges and obligations, hence the following dispositions made by the first law of our system of education.

"I. The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may appoint not less than ten and not more than fourteen persons to be a board of education for the Province of Manitoba, of whom one-half shall be Protestants, and the other half Catholics."

"II. The Lieutenant-Governor in Council may appoint one of the Protestant members of the board to be superintendent of Protestant schools, and one of the Catholic members to be superintendent of the Catholic schools."

"X. Each section shall have under its control and management the discipline of the schools of the section."

"XI. It shall make the rules and regulations for the examination, grading and licensing of the teachers."

"XIII. From the sum appropriated by the legislature for common school education, there shall first be paid the incidental expenses of the board and of the sections, and the residue then remaining shall be appropriated to the support and maintenance of common schools, one moiety thereof to the support of Protestant schools, and the other moiety to the support of Catholic schools."

This legislation sanctioned the rights and privileges to denominational schools, enjoyed by the population by practice before the union with Canada. The law made the schools denominational between Roman Catholics and

Protestants, according to this distinction expressed in the constitutional dispositions establishing the Canadian confederation and the Province of Manitoba.

The increase of the population and other circumstances required amendments to the first law, but, let it be remembered, those amendments did not alter the fundamental principle on which the school system rested; on the contrary they fortified and supported it more and more.

In 1875 the numerical equilibrium had ceased, the Protestants had increased in number more rapidly than the Catholics; hence certain dispositions of the Act 38 Vic. chap. 27. Its first clause fixed at twelve the number of Protestant members of the Board of Education, and at nine the number of Catholic members.

Clause IV says: "The sum voted by the legislature for common school purposes shall be divided between the Protestant and Roman Catholic sections of the board in proportion to the number of children, aged from 5 to 16 years, and residing in the different school districts in the province."

In order to avoid the confusion which would have been the result of certain expressions, the clause XXVIII enacted that the words "dissident or separate schools" should be replaced by the following words: "Protestant or Catholic schools as the case may be;" while the words, "regular district," should be replaced by the words, "Protestant district or Catholic district, as the case may be."

After ten years of experience all the school acts till then enacted and the amendments thereto, were all repealed and the Act 44 Vic., chapter 4, was passed instead, 1881.

What was to be the nature of this new law, resulting from experience, reflection and work? Had the population manifested any desire for any change in the principles and general direction determined by the first laws on education? Shall legislators, to answer their own aspiration, and those of their constituents, enact radical modifications in the system already adopted? No, the principles remained as they were, their application had given general satisfaction, the interested parties were pleased; the characteristic aspect of the school laws of Manitoba not only remained what it was, but received a new impulse, in the law passed after ten years of experience. Let us examine it, and if it is necessary to understand its true spirit, to resort to long quotations, the reader will pardon them as they seem necessary to comprehend the situation.

The government being the first executive authority of the law, the latter indicates the duty of the former in the following clauses and sub-clauses:

"1. The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council shall appoint, to form and constitute the Board of Education for the Province of Manitoba, a certain number of persons not

exceeding twenty-one; twelve of whom shall be Protestants and nine Roman Catholics."

"9. The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council shall appoint one of the Protestant members of the board to be superintendent of the Protestant schools, and one of the Catholic members to be superintendent of the Catholic schools.

The government who has the custody of public monies must act as follows in dividing the amount voted by the legislature for the school."

"84. The sum appropriated by the legislature for common school purposes, shall be divided between the Protestant and Roman Catholic sections of the Board of Education, in the manner hereinafter provided, in proportion to the number of children between the ages of five and fifteen inclusive."

"85. The provincial treasurer and one other member of the executive council, to be appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor, shall form a committee, for the apportionment of education funds and legislative grant, between the Protestant and Roman Catholic sections of the Board of Education."

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

mentioned in the law, and whose members are appointed by the Government, is to be renewed, and must act according to the following clauses:

"3. It shall be the duty of the board:

"(a). To make from time to time such regulations as they may think fit for the general organization of the common schools. (b). To make regulations for the registering and reporting of daily attendance at all the common schools in the province. . . . (c). To make regulations for the calling of meetings."

"5. The board shall resolve itself into two sections, the one consisting of the Protestant and the other of the Roman Catholic members thereof; and it shall be the duty of each section

"(a). To have under its control and management the schools of the section . . .

"(b) To arrange for the proper examination, grading and licensing of the teachers."

"(c). To select all the books, maps and globes to be used in the schools under its control."

"(d). To appoint inspectors, who shall hold office during the pleasure of the section appointing them."

The superintendents are the executive officers of their respective sections, and as such their duties are well defined in the act.

THE SCHOOL DISTRICTS

had attracted the solicitude of the legislature, which, on that important point as well as on the rest, was unwilling to disturb the basis on which rested the whole school system.

Here are the principal dispositions of the law on this point:

"12. (a) The establishment of a school district of one denomination shall not prevent the establishment of a school district of the other denomination in the same place, and a Protestant and a Catholic district may include the same territory in whole or in part."

SUPPORT OF SCHOOLS.

It was not enough to establish a system of public and free schools, where all the children could be admitted and instructed; it was absolutely necessary to provide for the expenses and maintenance. The rules to be followed for the partition of the public monies and the legislative grant, have been already quoted from the law. It may be mentioned now how to provide for the balance of funds, required for the construction and support of the schools.

"25. For the purpose of supplementing the legislative grant it shall be the duty of the boards of trustees of all school districts from time to time to prepare and lay before the municipal council an estimate of such sums as may be required for school purposes during the current school year. The said council, employing their own lawful authority, shall forthwith levy and collect the said sums by assessment on the real and personal property within the school district, and shall pay over the same to the said board of trustees as collected."

"30. The ratepayers of a school district, including religious, benevolent and educational corporations, shall pay their respective assessments to the schools of their respective denominations, and in no case shall a Protestant ratepayer be obliged to pay for a Catholic school, or a Catholic ratepayer for a Protestant school."

NORMAL SCHOOLS.

The 30th May, 1882, the Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba assented to an act "To establish Normal Schools in Connection with Public Schools." This act, 45 Victoria, chap. 8, is a complement of the preceding, and does not in any way alter the main lines traced before. Here is its first clause:

"1. The Protestant and Catholic sections of the Board of Education are hereby respectively empowered

"(a). To Establish, in Connection with the Protestant public schools of the city of Winnipeg, and with the Roman Catholic public schools of St. Boniface, normal school departments, with a view to the instruction and training of teachers of public schools in the science of education and the art of teaching."

The above mentioned acts 44 and 45 Vic. have been amended during the following years, but no modification was made to the fundamental principle of the laws that I have named. The old regime; that code, one in its origin, became dual in its application to the whole province, in order to facilitate education, while safe-

guarding the just desires of the parents and removing the friction that is a natural consequence of the domination of a portion of the population over the other.

I have no intention of commencing a dissertation on the merit or shortcomings of the old school laws; I am looking after facts, and will not delay with praise or condemnation of theories and convictions, which have their opponents and supporters. My own views on the matter of education are not the object of this essay; I consider the facts as they existed under the old regime in order to fully establish the facts as they are under the new regime. For the sake of clearness I recapitulate.

The system of public schools of Manitoba was created by law. That law, entrusted to the government, passed from it to the interested parties, by the nomination of a school board. No one in the province was ex-officio member of the board, all its members were appointed by the government; the choice was restricted only by the consideration that the law entertained for the religious convictions of the population. It was also the executive of the province which remitted to the board and its sections, the public money voted by the legislature for the maintenance of schools; the law equally protected all the religious beliefs; the faith of some parents did not deprive their children of the legitimate share of the public money to which they were entitled as citizens of Manitoba of school age.

The government knew what was going on each year. Official reports were submitted and acquainted it with all that was interesting in the province regarding schools. The whole was laid before the representatives of the people, to whom the government is responsible. Nothing was concealed, there were no privileges, no exclusion in the system: equal individual rights were equally protected.

THE BOARD OF EDUCATION

was a second factor in the system. In order that it could accomplish its duties with more ease and justice towards everyone, it was divided into two sections or committees. These two sections were, as it were, benevolent currents running from the same spring and circulating through the country in all directions, conveying with them the satisfaction and fecundity of intellectual culture. The two currents could deepen their channel, increase the volume of their waters, become stronger or weaker; the course could be more or less rapid, more or less regular, according to circumstances, but they had always to run on parallel lines; the law, in maintaining them within those parallels, prevented encroachment or confusion, in order that they could continue their course, spreading everywhere the advantages of the instruction and the education agreeably to the convictions of the parents, permitting the conscience of everyone to breathe freely

and to acknowledge in the law a protection and not a tyranny. Alongside of these parallel currents, were planned the school districts; the law entrusted their creation and direction to citizens whose ideas harmonized with the feelings of the parents of the children using the schools. Then the teachers, the inspectors, the programme of studies, the disciplinary regulations, the religious and moral teaching; in a word, all that could secure the good management of the school, all that was according to the views of the parties interested and was entrusted respectively to the direction of each section of the board. The fact is, that during nineteen years the two sections have acted as mentioned above. Each section was perfectly independent, and consequently the action of one was in no way embarrassed by the actions or omissions of the other. If they exercised influence with one another in any way, it was merely through a generous emulation which contributed to the general welfare.

The existence of Protestant schools alongside of Catholic schools never interfered with the good relations between citizens and neighbors; the result was quite different, as affirmed by the following words of Mr. J. B. Somerset, superintendent of Protestant schools. His conviction is expressed in the following words, page 7 of the report he addressed to the Lieutenant-Governor on April 29th, 1880:

"It is gratifying to all lovers of good citizenship, as well as of educational progress, to note that from the organization of this system of management in 1871, at which period the Protestant schools numbered sixteen and the Catholics seventeen, to the present, there has been an almost entire absence of the friction and disagreement that have marked the progress of education in some of the sister provinces."

After quoting the above, I could easily demonstrate the falsity and even the absurdity of the accusations heaped upon Catholic schools, both with regard to their teaching of secular branches and to their social, religious and moral influence. But no, I must remember what I promised to prove, and not allow myself to be carried away into side issues. My contention is that the non-Catholic public school under the old regime were really Protestant schools. There is no doubt that the Catholic section of the Board of Education faithfully discharged the duty imposed upon them, that of establishing and controlling their schools, according to Catholic views. It is equally certain that the Protestant section of the same board were also faithful to their trust. They established and controlled their schools, according to Protestant views. Here is what their superintendent, J. B. Somerset, wrote, on page 27 of his report, already mentioned:

"The development of the moral nature is a primary requisite in any system of education. The board, recognizing this principle, has provided for the most careful inquiry into the character of its teachers, and for such systematic religious instruction in its schools, as may be given with the object of teaching the principles of Christian truth contained in the Bible, and accepted by all Protestant denominations."

I need not say that, in so writing, Mr. Somerset acted in the name and behalf of the Protestant section of the board of Education; his official report, very elaborate and cleverly written, provoked no contradiction in parliament, nor in the press, nor anywhere else to my knowledge. The same report, pages 27 and 28, recites the regulations of the Protestant section of the board, regarding religious teaching, as adopted on the 2nd December, 1885, which were in force when Mr. Somerset wrote his report and continued to be so after:

"Every school established and in operation, under the authority of the Protestant section of the board of education for Manitoba, shall be opened and closed daily with prayers," consisting of "one or more of the forms of prayer printed on the cover of the authorized school registers, . . . always including the Lord's prayer, repeated together by teacher and pupils."

"The Bible shall be used as a text book in the Protestant schools of Manitoba."

"The scripture lesson in each school shall follow the opening prayer, and shall occupy not more than fifteen minutes daily."

"The pupils of each school, from standard three upward, shall be taught to repeat from memory the ten commandments and the apostles creed, and one-half hour weekly may be devoted to this exercise and such other instruction in manners and morals as may be practicable."

In spite of all the proofs heretofore enumerated, some people contend that the Protestant schools were not sectarian. Surely they were not in the estimation of those who, very improperly, use the word sectarian teaching as meaning the teaching of Roman Catholic doctrine; but it is unquestionably certain that those schools were sectarian in the estimation of those who attach to the words the literal signification, or, if you like it better, I will say those schools were merely and simply Protestant schools. Protestant in fact, as well as in name; Protestant by those who controlled and directed them, as their section of the board, their superintendent, their inspectors, etc., etc. Those schools were Protestant in the selection of the books used by the teachers, pupils both in schools and libraries. They were Protestant by their religious exercises and their systematic religious instruction . . . accepted by

all Protestant denominations. Those schools were Protestant by those who supported them, Protestants alone being called upon for that object; they were also Protestant for those who attended them, as Protestant children alone had the right.

It is so much the more astonishing to deny to those schools the true character which distinguished them, that at the time they claimed to be Protestant openly, sincerely, without hesitation as without intention to ensnare the good faith of anyone; those institutions were Protestant public schools as well as the others were Catholic public schools, both showing their true colors in accordance with the distinction foreseen and expressed in the constitution of Canada and in the constitution of Manitoba, and as fully provided by all the school laws of Manitoba under the old regime.

II. THE NEW REGIME.

Having proved that, before the 1st May, 1890, there were Protestant public schools in Manitoba, I shall proceed to demonstrate that the school system, now in vogue, is nothing but their continuation, even when the law designates them under the title of public schools. My proof will cover the following subjects:

The administration and control of public schools, the nomination of their inspectors, professors and staff; the choice of their books; the determination and practice of their religious exercises; the children who attend them; the rate-payers who support them; the sympathies they elicit.

Administration and control—The act 53, V c., chap 37 intitled: "An Act Respecting the Department of Education," reads as follows in its 18th clause: "From and after the first day of May, A. D., 1890, the Board of Education and superintendents of education appointed under chapter 4 of 44 Victoria and amendments, shall cease to hold office and within three days after said first day of May, said boards and superintendents shall deliver over to the provincial secretary all records, books, papers, documents and property of every kind, belonging to said boards."

The provisions of this law were carried into effect and without compensation, inasmuch as the Catholic section of the board is concerned; all the Catholics having anything to do in the general management of schools were dismissed and no one was appointed or could accept an appointment under the new law. It was not so with the Protestant section and its staff. Several of the members of the Protestant section were called to the new organization; the inspectors had the same privileges.

Clause 1 of the said act says: "There shall be a department of education, which shall consist of the executive council or a committee thereof, appoint-

ed by the lieutenant-governor in council." Immediately before the passing of this act the executive council had acted in such a way that no sincere Catholic could join or remain with them. The members of this executive council were, therefore, all Protestants, the honorable the attorney-general had caused his own appointment as superintendent of the Protestant school section of the Board of Education; he continued the functions of that office as member and legal advisor of the department of education. His honorable colleagues, all eligible to the position of members of the Protestant section under the old regime, became ex-officio members of the new school administration. Clause IV. of the same act says: "There shall be a board as hereinafter provided to be known as the advisory board" and clause V. says: "Said board shall consist of seven members." The disposition of the law is such that it is morally impossible for Catholics to become members of this new organization; the seven members will be and are Protestant as well as the five members of the executive council. Therefore twelve Protestants continue the work of the twelve Protestants who formed the Protestant section of the board of education under the old regime. His Lordship, the Bishop of Rupert's Land, chairman of the old Protestant section of the board of education, is chairman of the new advisory board; the Rev. Dr. G. Bryce, member of the old board, is also member of the new board; all the clerks are not only Protestant, but some are the same as under the old law.

The Inspectors—All the Catholic inspectorships were abolished, but the Protestant inspectorships were preserved. Three old incumbents were maintained in charge and the two others were replaced by Protestants. While dismissing all the Catholic inspectors a new inspectorship was created for the Mennonites and one of their denomination brought from the United States to fill the situation. The numerous functions of the new comer would seem strange under the new law, if that law was not in reality a continuation of the old system as far, at least, as Protestants are concerned.

Preparation of teachers—Each section of the old board of education had its normal schools; those for the Catholics were abolished, while the Protestant normal schools were quietly continued, and the principal of the Normal Protestant school of Winnipeg was maintained. I pray my readers to observe that I say nothing against the character or the qualification of any of those above mentioned, but I say this: His Lordship the Bishop of Rupert's Land continues to be the head of the Anglican church in the province; the Rev. Dr. G. Bryce is always the Rev. Dr. G. Bryce; the other members of the school administration are as much Protestant to-day as they were previous to the first May, 1890. I am glad to believe

it, all are honest and sincere, therefore it seems evident to me that they cannot have accepted the management, the control or the action they exercise in the schools attended by all the Protestant children of the province without being determined to protect the religious convictions of those children, in conformity with the desires of their parents. How is it possible to them to direct, to protect, to teach, to form the teachers and the pupils of the schools without a certain tendency to bias in conformity with their own personal convictions? Is it possible for any one to be Protestant in every respect, everywhere, and always, except in the school, of which the same person has the control and direction, with the power of interpreting and executing the law? To illustrate the difficulty, let us suppose that the actual school laws should remain what they are to-day, but that a complete change is made of the persons who apply and interpret them; let us suppose that all the members of the government are Roman Catholics; that all the members of the advisory board and the staff of the Department of Education are also Roman Catholics, that all the inspectors, principals and teachers of the Normal schools will be also Roman Catholics; what would Protestants believe of the religious teaching in the schools of Manitoba? What would the "Equal Righters" think, say or write? Pardon my sincerity, I am also an equal righter and I say that when all those connected with the schools are Protestant, it is but natural that such schools should be Protestant.

The Choice of Books.—No one can deny that the books used in the schools have a great influence on the teaching. As it has been shown, under the old regime, one of the duties of the Protestant section of the board of education was "to select all the books, maps and globes to be used in the schools under its control." Under the new regime here is what is read in clause 14: "Said advisory board shall have the power:

"(b) To examine and authorize textbooks and books of reference for the use of pupils and school libraries."

Evidently the advisory board is in this the continuation of the Protestant section of the old board. Surely there is no temerity in adding that the school books used by the pupils and professors, and also the reading books placed in the libraries, will be at least in a great proportion Protestant, and very often absolutely hostile to Catholic ideas.

The most superficial examination of all that is said and written everywhere suffices to demonstrate the injustice there would be in placing Catholic children in the obligation of using books chosen or by Protestants.

Religious Exercises.—One of the numerous reasons proving that the schools, now called public, are but the continuation of

the Protestant schools of the old regime, is the fact that the exercises and religious and moral teachings are identically the same.

The prayers adopted and the passages selected in the scriptures, by the advisory board, are nothing but what had been adopted and selected by the Protestant section of the board of education. The prayers and lectures of the bible are not the only religious exercises in use in the public schools; there is, under the title of "morals," a whole mine, which the professor can explore, in order to induce, in the minds of his pupils, the religious convictions he has himself, as it was formerly done in the schools called Protestant schools. As a proof of what I affirm, I offer to the examination of serious-minded people the resemblance, nay the similitude, existing between the rules prescribed in the ancient Protestant schools and those prescribed by the advisory board in the schools now called public:

Programme of studies for the Protestant public schools of Manitoba, revised May, 1889.

Morals—(a) Duties to self.
(b) Duties to others.
(c) Duties to state.
(d) Duties to animals.
To establish the habit of right doing, instruction in moral principles must be accompanied by training in moral practices.

The teacher's influence and example.

Current incidents, stories, memory gems, sentiments in the school lessons.

Examination of motives that prompt to action, didactic talks, Learning the ten commandments, etc., are means to be employed.

A great effort of imagination is not necessary to discover, in the above lines, a complete assortment of religious arms, offensive and defensive, put to the disposition of those whose mission it is to teach to children; those children so accessible to the most various impressions and more apt, than is generally believed, to seize the thought of the professor and be guided by the influences to which they are submitted. As a rule, pupils think in the same way as their teacher.

There is still less doubt on the certainty of this result, when a professor is guided by the preceding programme. What cannot be said by a talented and zealous professor, charged with the teaching of the Ten Commandments, having to help him, his influence and example, the recalling of current incidents; in narrating to his scholars stories,

Programme of studies for the public schools of Manitoba, adopted Sept. 1st, 1891, and re-adopted Sept. 1st, 1892.

Morals—(a) Duties to self.
(b) Duties to others.
(c) Duties to state.
(d) Duties to animals.
To establish the habit of right doing, instruction in moral principles must be accompanied by training in moral practices.

The teacher's influence and example.

Current incidents, stories, memory gems, sentiments in the school lessons.

Examination of motives that prompt to action, didactic talks, teaching the ten commandments, etc., are means to be employed.

memory gems, in insisting on the sentiments in the school lessons and the examination of motives that prompt to action, in making didactic talks and adding to all that an etc., (et cetera) as large, if it pleases him, as is his own religious ideas.

All these means put in the hands of an intelligent and clever person, suffice under the new regime, as well as under the old, "for the introduction in the school of a systematic religious instruction contained in the Bible and accepted by all Protestant denominations." The regulations used in public schools singularly modify the text of the act that says: "The public schools shall be completely non-sectarian." These last words would not have been accepted as a criterion of truth by the noble lords of the judicial committee of the privy council, had their lordships known what happens here.

School Population—There were in Manitoba, and that by law, some schools which could in conscience be frequented by Catholic children. The new law wishes this no more, but continues in favor of Protestant children the schools they formerly had. Official documents show the unjust distinction introduced by the practice and application of the new law.

Under the old regime Protestant schools were not for Catholic children who had no right to them and, as the schools of the new regime are but the continuation of the formerly Protestant schools, one must not be too much astonished to see that Catholic children are counted no more under the new organization than they were formerly. One may perhaps be surprised at the fact that schools, boasting of being national, keep no account of the children of a notable part of the nation. What I say here would probably not be believed if I could not prove it by an official document whose authenticity cannot be denied. This document is entitled, "Report of the Department of Education, Manitoba, for the year 1891," addressed to the lieutenant-governor and signed by the Honorable Daniel McLean, member of the government, and charged by the latter of the direction of the department of education.

The following table, taken from page two of the report, expresses in figures the systematic exclusion of which Catholic children are the victims under the new law:

SCHOOL POPULATION.			My Remarks on the adjoining statement.
Year.	School population.	Total number of pupils registered.	
1871		817	
1881	7,000	4,919	
1882	9,641	6,972	
1883	12,346	10,831	
1884	14,129	11,708	
1885	15,850	13,074	

These figures show but the Protestant children and are taken from the reports of the superintendents of Protestant schools under the old regime.

No account is taken nor mention made of Catholic children whose enumeration may be found in the official reports of the superintendents of Catholic schools under the old regime.

1886 16,834	15,926
1887 17,000	16,940
1888 18,550	18,009
1889 21,471	18,358
1890 25,677	23,256
1891 28,678	23,871

These figures are only for Protestant children.

No Catholic children are shown by these figures.

If the department had had in view to prove that the schools under its direction are but the continuation of the former Protestant schools, it could not have employed a stronger argument than the one contained in the figures of the preceding table. Formerly all the schools were public, the Catholics as well as the Protestants and vice versa. The census taken under oath by each of the two sections were documents equally official, and are kept on record in the offices of the government. How is it that the administration of the public schools of the day, which are also qualified as national, can leave out the whole Catholic school population and merely mention the Protestant children and that, when the statistics are gathered from 1871, when Catholic children were the most numerous? Why two weights and two measures, why should a part be counted for nothing and the other part taken as the whole.

Ratepayers—Previous to 1890, the non-Catholic public schools of Manitoba were Protestant, in name as well as in fact; to-day the same schools have kept their character, but have lost their name; true, it is a loss, but the loss is compensated in a large measure. In all places where there was a Catholic district covering the same ground as a Protestant one, it was decided by the law that all assets of the Catholic schools would become the property of the Protestant schools, which would then be called public schools, to be supported by the school assessments of Catholics as well as of Protestants. Let it be kept in view, the provision of the law was the same, even in a district where there might be but one school with only ten Protestant children, although in the same place there would be schools enough to accommodate several hundred of Catholic children. Yes, by the terms of this law, in such a case, the school trustees charged with these hundreds of children would disappear to make room for trustees named by the parents of the ten Protestant children. The new laws, while permitting the Protestant schools to continue to develop and to prosper, are so prejudicial to Catholic schools that already many have been closed and others are on the point of meeting the same fate, while the rest are maintained, but with difficulty. I give Winnipeg as an illustration: The Catholics have in the city five educational establishments, frequented by over 500 children. Under the old regime, the Catholics of Winnipeg had their own school trustees as the Protestants had theirs; the limits of the two districts were not similar, nevertheless the attorney-general in 1890 decided that the Catholic

trustees would not be recognized any more. This decision entailed the confiscation of all appertaining to the Catholic school trustees, in favor of the Protestant school board. Fortunately the Catholic establishments belonged to corporations that the school law could not reach and the Catholic children remained where they were. There was something reached by the decision of the then attorney-general, it is the assessments levied on Catholics. For three years past the school taxes of the Catholics, instead of turning to their benefit, are applied to help the schools, where Catholic children do not attend. The Catholic schools of Winnipeg, deprived of the assessments of their supporters, deprived also of their legitimate share of the public money, are left to the good will of the parents, helped by the self-denial of the teachers.

I have witnessed the beginning and the growth of the city of Winnipeg; at all times I have admired the liberality of its inhabitants; it is perfectly well established that the people of Winnipeg give freely and generously. How is it that, in the same city we find an unjust meanness such as the one perpetrated against the Catholic schools of the place. I know that several of the best citizens are ashamed, when thinking that money is taken even from the poorest Catholics to help in educating the children of Protestants, even of some of the richest. Unfortunately this sentiment has not reached the main body of the citizens and the meanness is still being acted. Its injustice is so much the more manifest that the school board has not sufficient accommodation, we are told, even for the Protestant children. What embarrassment it would be for that school board if, at a fixed day, all the Catholic children of the city would go and ask for their place in the public schools, to the maintenance of which their parents are forced to contribute. The ignorance of the financial position made for the Catholic schools by the new law can alone account for the affirmation made by the noble lords of the judicial committee of the Privy Council. Their Lordships surely were not aware of the bitter sarcasm they used when they said, "In such a case the Roman Catholics were really placed in a better position than the Protestants."

The Friends of Public Schools—In 1890, the government first intended to completely secularize the primary instruction, but it met with such remonstrance that it modified its bill, merely abolishing the Catholic schools and securing that the Protestants would be left with such school as they had themselves framed by the "introduction of systematic religious instruction accepted by all their denominations." The partisans of secularization are dissatisfied with the religious practices maintained in the schools; they would like to see the disappearance of prayers, of the reading of the

Bible and the "means to be employed," according to the programme prescribed in the new as well as in the old schools. Complete secularization is not without supporters in different classes of citizens, but the Protestant clergy "en masse" look at it as the most dangerous thing after the Catholic teaching. The rev. gentlemen accept with enthusiasm the new laws because, while repudiating the Catholic doctrine, they do not admit of secularization and because they are in reality but the continuation of the Protestant schools, such as some of the clergy and laity of the different denominations have made them, through the Protestant section of the board of education.

It is very difficult to imagine what has been printed in the press and what has been said in different political and religious meetings to prove, sometimes indirectly, but always with evidence, that the school question of Manitoba is purely and simply a religious one. I will not make any quotations, it would take a large volume to reproduce what has been said coolly and in a becoming manner, but it would take many large volumes to contain the violent language, the accusations and insinuations of all sorts against that scarecrow, that people dressed and stuffed according to their ideas and which, through stupidity or malice they call the "Romish church."

In the midst of this coarse and absurd trash, had anyone, just and disinterested, the courage to raise his voice to appeal to common sense or to the most elementary sentiments of justice, what has not been said against such persons? They were so many Judases, traitors to the Protestant cause, sold to Rome, to the archbishop, to the hierarchy, and other stupidities of the kind. I beg the reader's pardon for making even a passing allusion to all these painful occurrences. I do it merely to prepare for the following question: Why become so blindly sectarian in upholding a school system, if not because the system itself is sectarian? Why such appeals to fanaticism, made in season and out of season, everywhere and on every opportunity, if not because the schools spoken of are in reality what people pretend they are not, Protestant schools; but enough on that humiliating aspect of the question. I will now prove that the public schools of Manitoba have secured the official approbation and the support of the religious denominations, which had most contributed to mould the Protestant schools under the old regime.

The Presbyterians assembled in synod in Winnipeg, the 22nd of November, 1892. The question of public schools was again discussed at great length; the Rev. Dr. Robertson moved a series of politico-religious resolutions, which he supported by a speech of the same character; contending, among other similar reasons, "that a system of separate schools (read Catholic schools) could tend to fortify a

sentiment of annexation." The Rev. Peter Wright "had very much pleasure in seconding and in cordially and gladly supporting the resolutions; the latter did not at all contemplate doing away with any of the existing religious exercises. If they did he would not second them. . . Engage only Christian men and women. While there were exceptions, there was no class of people for whom he had a higher respect than the school teachers; and a Sunday seldom passed that he did not give thanks from his pulpit for the help rendered him in church work by Christian school teachers."

The Rev. J. Pringle "regards separate schools as a curse to any province or any town. He was glad we were not left to the alternative of separate or secular schools; if we were, he would go in with his might for secular schools."

The Rev. Principal King opposed the last four resolutions of Dr. Robertson, saying: "It was a mistake to bring such questions before this church court to make their beloved synod the tool of some political party. He washed his hands clear of the whole thing." The venerable doctor also said: "That he could not agree with the sentiment of one speaker, looking to the relegation of religion to the church and family alone." He moved as an amendment to Dr. Robertson's resolutions, that all the clauses be omitted except the first one which reads as follows: "That this synod, in accordance with the position taken at previous meetings of synod, in favor of national schools established in Manitoba in 1890, desires to express its continued anxiety for their complete establishment throughout the bounds of this synod." The proposition was adopted.

The Rev. Principal King then moved another resolution, seconded by the Rev. P. Wright: "That the synod, in harmony with the decision of the general assembly of 1889, on the subject of religion and instruction in the public schools, would earnestly depreciate any change in the existing school law of the province of Manitoba, in the direction of the withdrawal or the abridgement of the right now enjoyed by the people. . . He thinks that such abridgement would be both dishonoring to God and injurious to the interests of the state." The resolution was adopted.

I confess that I understand nothing in the ordinary language if all these assertions of the Presbyterian synod do not mean: (1) That the Catholic schools must be by all means done away with; (2) that secular schools must also be opposed; (3) that one must use every effort to maintain the actual schools with the continuance of their religious exercises. In other words, and according to my proposition, the Presbyterian synod proved that the actual public schools, are and should not cease to be but the continuation of the Protestant

schools of the old regime. Dr. King, himself, in 1892, affirmed his views as similar to those in the general assembly of 1889.

One member of the synod, the Rev. Dr. Bryce, fearing that somebody might think there was in the resolution of his confrere something in favor of secularizing the schools "which was not so" read from the act all the clauses providing for religious exercises in the schools, and to "prove that the synod ought to firmly and decidedly take a stand." The reverend speaker exhibited to the assembly a precious gem of the first sectarian water. People would hardly believe it, but the assertion was made in full synod and nobody was reported as having objected.

I beg pardon from the noble lords of the judicial committee in daring to quote the words of a most zealous champion of public schools, who in the midst of the synod of his church thought proper to say (The Winnipeg Daily Tribune, Nov. 23, 1892): "The action of the Presbyterian body as representing the strongest religious denomination in the Northwest in declaring for national schools on two previous occasions, which declaration was sent to the Privy Council, had an important effect upon the decision which was given." Were this affirmation made so solemnly, true, the judicial annals of Great Britain would have to record that the highest tribunal of the empire, under the pressure of the declarations of Presbyterian synods of Winnipeg, had given a decision contrary to the sacred interests of education among the Catholics of this province.

An Anglican synod met on the 11th January, 1893, in Winnipeg under the presidency of His Lordship the Bishop of Rupert's Land. The meeting numbered more than one hundred and twenty members, comprising the chief of the clergy and laity of the Church of England. The Right Rev. president delivered his charge; most of it being on the religious teaching in the primary schools. His Lordship expressed arguments and motives which are found in all Catholic treatises on the subject and substantiated by statistics. Here are quotations from the charge: "The known exclusion of religious teaching makes religion itself felt as something extra and superfluous. . . . Pure secular education has been accompanied by the deterioration of tone and character in the young. . . . The efforts to supply religious education independently of the school failed. . . . Religious instruction will be given systematically by few parents, not at all where most needed."

Speaking of "what would happen in England if the present assistance to separate schools were to cease," His Lordship described at the same time what would happen in Manitoba and says: "Many schools would be closed, many others would give but inferior education, still enough will be carried on, that a government

system of secular instruction might call itself national, but would be so in name not in reality." I have already stated that the Metropolitan of Rupert's Land, after having been for nineteen years the president of the Protestant section of the board of education, is since president of the advisory board for the public schools. He is consequently perfectly aware of the value of the religious exercises, prescribed by each of these two boards and here is the enumeration and appreciation made by His Lordship, "There is a short prayer concluding with the Lord's Prayer. There is a reading of a passage of the Bible. In the teaching of morals, there are the ten commandments." Now, these are not small things in themselves, but they are doubly important, because they carry with them, for the teachers, a degree of liberty." Yes, the bishop knows the value of what has been chosen and prescribed, under his presidency, for teaching the children of his church, as well as other Protestant children, and he adds: "The teachers who ignore these exercises can hardly be realizing their position as Christian men." After so speaking the president of the Anglican synod gave the following advice: "I think the synod would do well to pass a resolution, expressing the hope that there would be no interference with the present religious exercises," in public schools. The charge of the Metropolitan met with full approval and the committee appointed to report on it, presented the following:

"(2) Resolved, that while this synod would gladly see a larger measure of religious teaching in our schools than at present prevails, it trusts that every effort will be made, both by the educational authorities and by the Christian public generally, to render existing regulations on the subject as widely operative and efficient as possible."

"(3) This synod stands pledged to resist to the utmost any attempt to secularize our public schools."

The Rev. Canon O'Meara in proposing the adoption of the clauses of the report concerning religious education, reminded the synod that it is owing to the stand taken in 1890 "by the bishop and the Rev. Dr. King of the Presbyterian church that the intention to fasten upon the country an utterly godless system was changed."

The Rev. T. H. Walton seconded the motion. "He argued that in the interests of children, the state and the church, education should not be made purely secular." After that the metropolitan acknowledged that "when the parish schools were given up there seemed to be no doubt that there would be a certain amount of religious instruction in the (public) schools."

It is evident that the Anglican synod (1) repudiates the purely secular schools as dangerous to all; (2) that on the contrary

it recognizes the absolute necessity of religious instruction in public schools; (3) that it affirms that the Anglicans in giving up their parochial schools, had no doubt that the public schools would continue to give religious instruction. (4) the synod recognizes that in fact the public schools have religious exercises, "that are not small things in themselves, but that are doubly important, because they carry with them for the teacher a degree of liberty in his teaching." (5) the synod pledges itself to resist to the utmost any measure tending to diminish the religious instruction actually given in public schools. To all that, Mr. Mulock, a member of the synod, adds "that as soon as the Protestant bodies agreed upon what they wanted, the government was willing to take action."

CONCLUSION.

As a conclusion of all I have stated, I cannot help being convinced that the actual public schools of Manitoba are anything else but the continuation of the Protestant public schools, formerly established by law in the province and in force since the 3rd May, 1871, until the 1st May, 1890. The two systems are the same, as far as Protestants are concerned, but the result of the introduction of the new system has been detrimental to Catholics. The old regime had consideration for all religious beliefs and placed the citizens on the same equal footing with regard to their religious convictions; the new regime on the contrary, while hiding under false names, pretends to offer the same advantages to all, but creates an essential distinction. Some may conscientiously accept and in fact do accept what the law gives, while others cannot conscientiously avail themselves of the same, and suffer by the practical exclusion to which they are condemned.

An effort is made to conceal such a painful distinction. The equality of rights is proclaimed and we are told: "It is not the law that is in fault. It is owing to religious convictions, which everybody must respect, and to the teaching of their church that the Roman Catholics find themselves unable to partake of the advantages which the law offers to all alike."

What a queer reasoning, laws favorable to Catholics were repealed, others were enacted contrary to their religious convictions. Such religious convictions "which everybody must respect" and it is said: It is not the law that is in fault, but it is the Catholic religion! Just as if it were said: It is not the fault of the Roman empire, if Christians were put to death under Nero and his successors, that was "owing to the religious convictions of those Christians and to the teaching of their church," which forbade to the faithful certain practices that the law declared equally advantageous to all alike."

The results secured by the two school systems of Manitoba are very different. The old regime has not failed to develop a remarkable advancement in the interest of education; a progress seldom achieved, if ever, in a new country and, in a way, precious to all, as related by Mr. J. B. Somerset, when he says: "There has been an almost entire absence of the friction and disagreement that have marked the progress of education in some of the sister provinces." Can anyone say the same with regard to the new system? Alas, no! It materially retards instruction, at least amongst Catholics. On the other hand, how painful it is to witness every day the friction, the disagreements, the injurious proceedings, the disunion and the uneasiness which prevail in the province since three years. The law was to unite and it divides; it was to assimilate and it enlarges the distinction.

The Catholics have undoubtedly to suffer, but that does not close their eyes to advantages offered by their native or adopted land. We may suffer, but we cannot be traitors. Why add to the difficulty of supporting our schools as under the new law, the unjust reproach of failing in our obligations to country and allegiance. Such grave accusations have been uttered against us and the reader will permit me to repudiate them before closing my remarks and to tell to those unacquainted with my position, what my faith requires from me both in religious and in civil order. I am a Christian, as such I raise my aspirations far above the world. While looking towards Heaven my faith is increased in the Holy Church of my Saviour, as the way which leads to it. I give my allegiance to that Holy Church, listening to her teaching by which I am directed to love the Lord my God with my whole heart, and my neighbor as myself. Her sacred teaching tells me to do good to them that hate me or wish me evil, and as I would that men should do to me, do I also to them in like manner. I am a Catholic!

My allegiance to my church in the spiritual order is also my guide in the accomplishment of my civil or political duties. The sun of Canada has smiled upon my cradle, I hope it will also shine over my grave. For six generations, my ancestors were born on the banks of the St. Lawrence. Canada is my country. I never had nor never will have another home. Manitoba and the Northwest have had my life, my labors and my affections for nearly half a century, they will have them until my last day. I am a Canadian.

I was born and I have lived in British possessions; my allegiance is, therefore, to the Crown of England; my conscience and my heart repudiate anything that should be contrary to my obligations as a British subject. I feel happy to live under the protection of the glorious banner of the British empire. Can I be a

traitor to my allegiance because I desire that the soft breeze of liberty should wave the noble standard towards my co-religionists as well as towards my other countrymen in order that every one may enjoy

the protection and impartiality to which all are entitled in return of their allegiance?

† ALEX., Arch. of St. Boniface, O.M.I.
St. Boniface, April 20th, 1893.

